

# New Faces Dominate

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Impeachment of a President must, under the Constitution, begin in the House. Under House rules it must begin in the Judiciary Committee. So that committee's 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans are beginning an inquiry as to whether President Nixon should be removed from office.

By unbroken tradition, because of the legal complexities with which it deals, all the committee's members are lawyers.

During the 1960s the committee was much in the headlines as it wrestled with the wrenching issue of civil rights, but it has been less in the news recently. There was bi-partisanship on civil rights, but the committee has assumed a much more partisan stance as it approaches the issue of impeachment.

The committee's membership has changed almost completely since the civil rights days. Only five of the 38—none of the Republicans—served on the committee when it wrote the landmark public accommodations law of 1964.

As it undertakes its largest task since the impeachment (but not removal) of President Andrew Johnson more than a century ago, the committee is under new and untested leadership. The old chairman—Emanuel Celler of New York, who dominated the committee for two decades, and the senior Republican, William McCulloch of Ohio, who worked closely with him on civil rights—are gone and replaced, in the words of a colleague by "a couple of guys named Pete and Ed"—Chairman Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) and Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.). Both assumed their posts this year.

An overall look at the committee suggests that the Democratic side has become more liberal and the Republican side more conservative in the past decade and that in brain-power Democrats have made the greater gain.

In that period, the Republican side has lost—in addition to McCulloch—Charles Mathias (Md.), John Lindsay (N.Y.), Clark MacGregor (Minn.), William Cahill (N.J.) and Richard Poff

(Va.), the latter widely regarded as one of the outstanding legal scholars to serve in the House. Their replacements are lesser known.

Democrats have lost the last of their hardshelled, southern conservatives and added several liberal "bombthrowers," some of whom are ready to vote impeachment right now.

Following are brief profiles of the members of the House Judiciary Committee who will set more or less as a first-stage grand jury on the President's case. They are listed by party in order of seniority.

## Democrats:

- Chairman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., 64, life-long resident of Newark, N.J., where his family has remained and to which he has commuted on week-ends during 25 years in Congress. He has maintained a law practice while in Congress, but in a state where political corruption is common, no scandal has touched him. His specialty has been immigration. He also worked for civil rights, though his seat may be in jeopardy in an increasingly black district. Rodino has kept his cool under his two big tasks of impeachment and confirming a vice president. He has irritated some Republicans who think he is grabbing for too much power, but has won praise from his Democratic colleagues for his apparent determination to do a thorough job.

- Harold D. Donohue, 72, of Worcester, Mass. A bachelor and established liberal, he takes little public part in the shaping or floor management of legislation. He is known as a congressman who takes care of his constituents and gets re-elected. He was first elected in 1946 but did not go on the committee until after Rodino.

- Jack Brooks, 50, of Beaumont, Tex., elected in 1952: a tough-talking, partisan, liberal Democrat in the Lyndon Johnson tradition, and the congressman closest to LBJ during his presidency. He sat with Celler and Rodino on the civil rights subcommittee but recently has concentrated more on Government Operations Committee work,

where he investigated federal spending on President Nixon's private properties and was critical of it.

- Robert W. Kastenmeier, 49, of Sun Prairie, Wis.: an issue-oriented liberal whose views are no less strongly held—if less loudly proclaimed—than when he arrived in 1959 as a member of the liberal left. He has specialized in revising the copyright laws and has been trying all year to fashion an acceptable newsman's privilege law. He is regarded by colleagues as "bright, outstanding, fair".

- Don Edwards, 58, of San Jose, Calif., elected in 1962: an FBI agent for one year, he later became national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and became wealthy as president of a title insurance company. Elegant and soft-spoken, he, like Kastenmeier, is now an elder member of the liberal left and is also regarded as hardworking and fair.

- William L. Hungate, 50, of Troy, Mo., in Mark Twain country along the Mississippi, elected in 1964: Harvard law school, small town practice, writes and sings satirical songs, has a country story to illustrate every point, is credited with doing a capable job on proposed revisions of rules of evidence, and is now in charge of drafting a bill to create an independent Watergate special prosecutor.

- John Conyers, Jr., 44, of Detroit, elected 1964: Black, a bachelor and a boat-rocker, he speaks up toughly for black rights in a soft voice, twice ran against Carl Albert for Speaker in hopeless races for black principles. Colleagues view him variously as "less abrasive" or "still a bombthrower".

- Joshua Eilberg, 52, of Philadelphia: elected 1966, a school janitor's son who worked his way up from poverty, majority leader in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, is now chairman of the immigration subcommittee and is regarded as a quiet hardworker.

- Jerome R. Waldie, 48, of Antioch, Calif., elected in 1966, after also serving as majority leader in his state legislature: was one of the



# House Group Studying



REP. ED. HUTCHINSON



REP. PETER W. RODINO

"A couple of guys named Pete and Ed" in new jobs.

first to call for the resignation, as too old, of former Speaker John W. McCormack and now for the impeachment of President Nixon. He is variously viewed as a political independent operating on principle or a political opportunist running for governor of California. He is one of the few members to make public his tax returns.

- Walter Flowers, 40, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., elected 1968: relatively conservative but not an obstructionist, studied international law at University of London, criticized President Nixon for not releasing Watergate tapes promptly but says impeachable offenses must be proved.

- James R. Mann, 53, of Greenville, S.C., elected 1968: Phi Beta Kappa, Army lieutenant colonel at 25, prosecuting attorney, may take liberal view on one issue and conservative on another and hold both very firmly.

- Paul S. Sarbanes, 40, of Baltimore, elected 1970: Princeton, Rhodes scholar, Greek ancestry, member of the state legislature, liberal who won his seat by ousting a machine elder, regarded as having "good logical legal mind who lays it out straight and makes sense."

- John F. Seiberling, 55, of Akron, elected 1970: scion of big business family, much-decorated World War II veteran, one of the most liberal members of House, variously described as "practical liberal" and "naive."

- George E. Danielson, 58, of Los Angeles, elected 1970: former FBI agent and state legislator, labor-backed economic liberal but on social issues would be rated conservative among committee's Democrats.

- Robert F. Drinan, 53, of Newton, Mass., elected 1970: Jesuit priest, former dean of Boston College law school, dashes about, eyes flashing, proclaiming liberal causes. First member of Congress to introduce an impeachment resolution, he wears an "Impeach Nixon" button under lapel of his black clerical jacket.

- Charles B. Rangel, 43, of Harlem, elected 1970: black, wounded in Korea, state legislator, regarded as "reasonable," unlike his flamboyant predecessor, the late Adam Clayton Powell.

- Barbara C. Jordan, 37, of Houston, elected 1972: state senator five years, eloquent speaker, third black member of the committee. A liberal, she gets along with white colleagues and is respected as "smart, thoughtful, experienced."

- R. H. (Ray) Thornton, 45, of Sheridan, Ark., graduate of Yale and Texas law school, was state attorney general when elected last year, described as being "very quiet and listening to everything" at committee meetings.

- Elizabeth Holtzman, 32, of Brooklyn, Harvard Law School graduate, pulled upset of 1972 when she defeated Celler in primary and

ended his 50-year career: described as "very sharp, tries to be fair, very liberal."

- Wayne Owens, 32, of Salt Lake City: Mormon missionary in Europe for three years, worked for Robert Kennedy in 1948 presidential bid and later for Sen. Edward Kennedy, walked to victory in 1972, now has eye on Senate seat next year, also a strong liberal.

- Edward Mezvinsky, 36, of Iowa City, elected 1972 after serving, as did several others, on a congressman's staff, elected chairman of Democratic freshmen seeking to make views heard through collective voice, considered intelligent and strong liberal.

Republicans:

- Edward Hutchinson, 59, of St. Joseph, Mich., elected 1962 after 14 years as state legislator: quiet and unassuming, called by Democrats "decent conservative," does not seem likely to fill role of strong party leader on the committee.

- Robert McClory, 65, of suburban Chicago, elected 1962 after 12 years as state legislator: enthusiastic tennis player, regarded by one Democratic colleague on the committee as ineffective and by a Republican as "principled moderate."

- Henry P. Smith, 62, of North Tonawanda, N.Y., elected 1964: mayor and county judge, tall and white-haired, conservative, variously regarded as "able lawyer," or "fairly intelligent" but in either case "very fair."

- Charles W. Sandman, 52, of Cape May, N.J., elected 1966: German prisoner when bomber navigator in World War II, majority leader of state senate, soundly defeated for governor in election last week, staunch conservative long at odds with state's senior Republican, Sen. Clifford Case.

- Thomas F. Railsback, 41, of Moline, Ill., elected 1966 after four years in state legislature: appears lest conservative of senior Republicans on committee, was first to protest publicly that Democrats were cranking up impeachment machinery



# Impeachment

without consulting Republicans; regarded as bright lawyer who likes to argue and would like to be GOP spokesman.

- Charles E. Wiggins, 45, of West Covina, Calif., elected 1966: conservative, highly regarded as intelligent, articulate; perhaps best legal mind on Republican side with departure of Poff.

- David W. Dennis, 61, of Richmond, Ind., elected 1968 after 12 years in state legislature: was prosecutor and had wide experience as criminal defense lawyer; also considered one of the committee's leading lawyers, loves legal points at length.

- Hamilton Fish, 47, of Milbrook, N.Y., elected 1968: son, grandson and great-grandson of members of Congress, his father was Franklin D. Roosevelt's congressman and ardent foe. Graduate of Harvard, briefly in foreign service, state legislature, has been quiet member with moderate viewpoint.

- Wiley Mayne, 56, of Sioux City, Iowa, elected 1966: FBI agent for two years, trial lawyer, regarded as conservative, formidable opponent on issues and one of the abler legal minds on the Republican side.

- Lawrence J. Hogan, 45, of Prince George's County, Md., elected 1968: an FBI agent for 10 years, conservative, tough law-and-order advocate, partisan Republican who during Watergate spe-

cial prosecutor hearings pressed hardest to try to establish that the staff of fired Archibald Cox was loaded with Democratic liberals.

- William J. Keating, 46, of Cincinnati, elected 1970; former county judge, resigning at the end of this year to become newspaper executive; described by colleagues as "thoughtful, fairminded."

The six Republican freshmen haven't yet made much of a mark on the committee. They are:

- M. Caldwell Butler, 48, of Roanoke, Va., nine years in state legislature including House minority leader, described by Republican colleague as good lawyer.

- William S. Cohen, 33, former mayor of Bangor, Me., who, like Owens, conducted a walking campaign; considered bright young moderate who, one colleague predicts, "will be a star."

- Trent Lott, 32, of Pascagoula, Miss., former aide to conservative Democratic congressman, he became a Republican last year and won; very conservative.

- Harold V. Froelich, 41, of Appleton, Wis., former speaker of state legislature, one of the most conservative members of the House.

- Carlos J. Moorhead, 51, of Glendale, Calif., member of state legislature for five years.

- Joseph J. Maraziti, 61, of Boonton, N.J., former municipal court judge, state legislator for 14 years.